842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
• 183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/438 cont./

881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

• [183]

64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. [192] At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí.

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

[192]

65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The [183] distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 571 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Buhükiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is
[602] the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the
[558] sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241
423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings
[622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for
[431] the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the
[183] community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point,
[431] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal
249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled
423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so,
431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites
423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter-
614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they
[578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes
423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of
226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
264 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say,
• [183] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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264 574 122 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahûkiwa* to pay a courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahûkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 768 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 571 866 [857] The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader — not necessarily the headman — makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 183 571 431 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy [123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 183 571 431 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 183 571 431 522 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 183 571 431 578 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissafferted household departs. I was told, but could not verify it, that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

[754]